UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

The Challenge of Philosophical Pessimism

By EDMUND HENRY REEMAN

The Prohibition Issue

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Internationalism and the German Youth Movement

By WALTER CHRISTALLER and GÜNTER KEISER

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. XCI THURSDAY, JULY 5, 1923 Number 19

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie—
Dust unto dust—
The calm sweet earth that mothers all who die
As all men must;
Mourn not your captive comrades who must dwell—
Too strong to strive—
Within each steel-bound coffin of a cell,
Buried alive;
But rather mourn the apathetic throng—
The cowed and the meek—
Who see the world's great anxious and its wrong
And dare not speak.

"Bars and Shadows." —*Ralph Chaplin.*

Our readers are reminded that no issue will appear under date of July 12. The custom of the last three years will be followed of issuing Unity bi-weekly during July, August and September. This is done with the understanding that any subscriber who feels himself entitled to the full number of issues may have his subscription extended seven weeks. Material now on hand gives assurance of valuable summer numbers and subscribers are urged to send in their change of address promptly that they may not miss a copy.

We wish we could praise and thank President Harding for his release of political prisoners as he started on his Western tour, but how can we do so when he freed only twenty-eight of the fifty-one behind the bars, gave these twenty-eight not pardon but commutation of sentence, and in many cases hedged this commutation about with conditions and restrictions which were nothing less than an insult to the men affected. "Why the Administration persists in so unhandsome a course," says the New York *Evening Post,* "it is difficult to understand." Difficult indeed! We could understand a policy based on the idea of the National Civil Liberties Union that all political prisoners should be unconditionally pardoned and released. We could understand a policy based on the idea of the National Civic Federation that all political prisoners should be made to serve their terms to the very end. Both these policies or ideas are rational, consistent, thoroughgoing. But the piece-meal policy of the President, which pleases nobody, and satisfies no principles either of justice or of generosity, passes all belief. Why were the men, released on June 20th, not released a year ago? Why are only twenty-eight released now and the rest still confined? A few months from now a few more of the prisoners will be freed—why then and not now? All these men were tried on the same general charges, pronounced guilty of the same general offenses, and their cases were examined together by the Attorney-General's office. The whole thing reminds us of the old story of cutting off the dog's tail an inch at a time. The President apparently has no mind, no nerve. With this question as with every other, he would do nothing if he could; but, forced to act by pressure of public opinion, he moves with a minimum of grace, and receives as his reward a minimum of goodwill. Meanwhile, with twenty-three men still in jail, the work of agitation must go on!

We are sorry for the advocates of America's participation in the League Court who are trusting to the leadership of President Harding on this issue. We know these advocates to be sincere men, and desire nothing so much as that their opinions may have full, fair and forcible presentation to the public mind. Let every cause be heard, we say, and may the best cause win! But look at the mess that the President is making of this League Court campaign! Here on our desk, for example, on the morning of Friday, June 22nd, we find a "News Letter" from the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches. On the first page of this "Letter," we find a statement on "The Present Status of the Movement for America's Entrance into the World Court." This begins, "There seems to be a pretty general feeling that the United States Senate will follow President Harding's recommendation and vote for the entrance of the United States into the World Court." Then follows a reference to the opposition of "three or four of the irreconcilable senators," which is described as certain to be ineffective because of the "large majority among the senators for entrance into the Court." But there is always danger in a case of this kind; and the chief danger, now, is that of reservations! "Perhaps the reservation which will be most insisted upon," says the statement, "is that the judges shall not be elected by the League of Nations. . . ." This reservation, if accepted, would be fatal, for "there is not much probability that the rest of the world will consent to this, so that if the Senate insisted . . . it would probably mean the defeat of our entrance." Now,

behold! On the very same morning that we receive this perfectly accurate analysis of the situation from devoted friends of the Court, we read in the newspapers that President Harding, in his first speech on his Western trip, at St. Louis, advocated the divorce of the Court from the League by urging a reservation transferring the election of judges from the League to the Court itself!! The President, in other words, lines up with the irreconcilables, and does the one thing which will make favorable action on his recommendation of no effect. What wonder that the enemies of the Court are jubilant, and its friends disconsolate! It must be discouraging business trying to follow the President on this or any other issue.

President Atwood remains at Clark University, President Meiklejohn goes from Amherst College, both by grace of the Boards of Trustees. In this situation we have a perfect picture of what is the matter with higher education in America. Atwood is a conventional author of commercial text-books, who has taken an institution made world-famous by his predecessor, G. Stanley Hall, and made it over into a business school for traveling salesmen. Meiklejohn is the greatest educator in the country. He is the spiritual successor of Charles William Eliot, as he should have been his real successor at Harvard. He is a man with a free soul, a creative vision of service, an unshakable confidence in the radical tenets of democracy. He sees knowledge as something to be won by each new generation, and not passed on by the old generation to the new; he interprets teaching to mean the liberation of intellect from, and not the fettering of intellect to, dogma; he respects tradition only as a base of spiritual supplies for the march ahead, and not as sacred ground to be forever defended and occupied. In the light of these convictions, with brave spirit, he took an old college and tried to make it over into a place of light and leading. Every reactionary influence in the Board of Trustees, the faculty, the alumni, the town itself, at once rose up to smite him. For eleven years, he fought his enemies and beat them off, but now at last he has been overthrown by sheer weight of numbers. The issue is a perfectly clear-cut victory of conservatism over liberalism. Talk about administrative deficiencies, faults of temperament, and all the rest, is only so much camouflage. Granted that all these charges are true! imagine allowing such inconsequential matters to intrude upon such fundamental work of educational reform as Alexander Meiklejohn had in hand! The stand-patter has won, that's all; and our colleges stand under a heavier indictment of betrayal than ever before.

Two current political developments deserve our most serious attention. The first is the continued growth in membership and power accomplished by the Ku Klux Klan in the South and East. The second is the unintelligent campaign going forward in every state in behalf of the presidential ambitions of Henry Ford. The Klan, by reason of its low and vicious character, is winning support among the least worthy elements of the population in New York and New Jersey, and the New York *Tribune* reports that it is in unquestioned control of the political and governmental machinery of certain large sections of Long Island. Mr. Ford has been accused of financing the Klan's activities, and he has not denied the charge. The straw vote conducted by *Collier's Weekly* discloses the fact that he has a numerous following and that it is similar in general sentiment to that of the Klan itself. Liberals must take cognizance of these sinister signs of the times. Race war, pogroms and their concomitants are on the horizon. Only the liberals, effectively organized, can solve this problem.

There is something revolting in the phrase "cannon fodder." We admit we do not like it, and we can understand why militarists object to it. But these same people who object to the phrase, occasionally express the same idea in other words. Marshal Foch has been touring Poland, the ally of France, and he has been duly impressed by "this land of sturdy children." But when the General is thinking of these "sturdy children," he is also thinking of the material the General Staff can use for "cannon fodder." The Polish correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* is quoted by the Manchester *Guardian* as follows:

> The other Polish phenomenon which makes a special impression on Marshal Foch as a Frenchman is the great number of children one sees in Poland. "They are the real strength of this country," he said to me. "Wherever we have been—Warsaw, Posen, Lvov (Lemberg), Cracow—streets have been densely lined by healthy, happy-looking children of from six to sixteen, clean, nicely dressed and full of spirits. . . ." France, with her diminishing population, has done well to obtain as an ally such a prolific and martial nation, which in fifteen years time will be able, if necessary, to put a million men in the field to hold Russia or Germany in check.

Naturally, as the correspondent concludes, "Marshal Foch is doing his best to strengthen the bonds between the two countries." We submit that this is but the phrase, "cannon fodder," in other language. It is just the same abominable attitude toward human life. There is something inhuman in this looking at happy, healthy children as raw material for the highly specialized business of war.

Estimates of the number of helpless victims killed by the Bolsheviki in Russia have now been raised from 1,700,000 to a round 2,000,000—this not in wars, mind you, but in the trials and executions of the revolutionary tribunal called the Cheka. This estimate will probably be boosted before long to 2,500,000 and then to 3,000,000, for a good story always gets better as it goes along. Meanwhile, 2,000,000, the total set by

Charles R. Crane in his report to the Baltimore *Sun*, is a good round number, easy to handle, and therefore may well be used as the basis of a little study as to what such figures really mean. Let us see! "The Cheka," says Mr. Crane, "has probably killed 2,000,000 persons in the last five years." Two million (2,000,000) in five years is 400,000 in one year. Four hundred thousand (400,000) in one year gives us an average of 33,334 per month. This monthly average gives us a daily average of 1,111, an hourly average of 46, and a five minutes' average of just under 4. In other words, if Mr. Crane's estimate is correct, the Russian Cheka has killed 4 persons every five minutes in every twenty-four hours in every day for the last five years. This is certainly "going some"—indeed, it is going at such a rate that the whole German army, working with machine guns, rifles, bombs, heavy artillery, poisonous gas and liquid fire, was unable to maintain such a pace in its killings of French soldiers from 1914 to 1918! The absurdity of the thing, of course, is perfectly apparent, once it is thought out in this definite fashion. Nobody could believe such a yarn unless he were utterly mad, and yet Mr. Crane, and the multitudes who take his story seriously, are supposed to be sane. As a matter of fact, of course, it is known, on the basis of official records, that the victims of the Cheka number less than 20,000, *the majority of them Communists.* This is too many; but it is less than 1% of 2,000,000!

Interesting testimony comes to us of the influence of Gandhi and his Non-Co-operation movement upon the Present German situation. Thus the *Frankfurter-Zeitung,* in a recent issue, exhorting the Germans to sustain the Berlin policy of passive resistance, calls attention to events in India, styles Gandhi "a second Christ," and states that the great success achieved by the Indians under the Mahatma's leadership, can be duplicated by the German people in their struggle against France. Here is a real connection between two movements of "non-violent coercion," as we are learning these days to call non-resistance, which is of the greatest significance and importance. The spirit of the imprisoned Gandhi is not merely walking abroad in his own country, stirring the people to revolt and organizing them to patience and courage in their long-sustained campaign for liberty, but it moves abroad, o'er seas and continents, and does its work on a distant soil and among an alien people. It is a marvelous exhibition of the essential omnipotence of the spirit, and of the corresponding futility of swords and chains and prison-cells. Furthermore, in the light of this occurrence, it becomes manifest that what Gandhi may or may not accomplish in his country during the period of his own life-time, is of small consequence as compared with other and deeper things. What Gandhi is doing is teaching the world a method, adapted on a vast scale to the exigencies of modern society, for securing the liberation of peoples from political and military oppression. If men will but heed it, as they seem to be doing in Germany, Gandhi will be remembered as the greatest liberator of all time.

We have again and again expressed our distrust of church statistics. We feel a similar distrust of much of the public testimony that comes to us from ministers and churchmen about their devotion to their work and their enthusiasm over its progress. We have never been able to reconcile these hallelujahs with the steady stream of clergymen who leave the church every year to go into teaching, life insurance, real estate, book canvassing, etc. If a search could be made of the letter-files of clergymen today, or a diagnosis made of the spiritual state of their inmost souls, we believe that a sad situation would be revealed. Constantly there come to our desk communications which reveal the real facts. Here, for example, is a letter from a Unitarian minister who is efficient, hard working, and exceptionally successful as success is counted in the church today. He says:

> Things go pretty well here, as churches go. Last Sunday we were full to the wall; but I am tired, cramped, sick of the continual repression, caution which must be exercised. I am more and more at a loss to know what the average churchgoer wants religion for. It seems to me that in the average Unitarian mind religion is solely to console, to comfort, to make people *feel* good. But to get them to *do* good, to systematize love and justice in society, to talk of these things concretely, is at once to give offense, to be unspiritual. I do not mean that there is to be no comforting message of personal religion —far from it—but it is done and overdone. It is religious selfishness, than which there is none worse. As far as I can judge, in social affairs, the Unitarian church as a whole is lacking in definiteness, and clean-cutness. . . . The theological freedom of the Unitarian Church, what of it? Who cares?
>
> I do not quite know where I am going to land. I cannot go back to orthodoxy, spite of its splendid social note here and there. The Ethical Church attracts me strongly. All their men, of whom I have read, Adler, Coit, Salter, Sheldon, Martin, Bridges, all seem wonderful teachers. A church with your basis appeals to me. You might keep your weather-eye open, and let me know if any opening occurs anywhere where I could fit. I am assuming you may be in touch with places. These are some of the thoughts uppermost in my mind.

What is the explanation of such a letter as this? The condition of the church today, and the spiritual attitude of church people! What is the answer to such a letter? Think it over!

The Challenge of Philosophical Pessimism

Pessimism, like optimism, may be of several kinds. It may also be a mere matter of temporary mood. Few of us in our moments of discouragement and depression altogether escape the sway of passing pessimistic moods. A majority of people probably have their "blue days," as we call them, when the world looks singularly colorless and unpromising. On the other hand, only a comparatively small number of people are ever pessimistic all the time. On the whole, we presume, mankind is just about as incurably optimistic as it is incurably religious. Most of the commoner kinds of pessimism, moreover, are easily traceable to certain definite causes. Dull weather always makes some people pessimistic, just as it always makes some people disagreeable. There is also a pessimism, or something that often goes by that name, which has its chief roots in an ill-ordered digestion. Another very common form of pessimism is that of those who through some greater or lesser experience of disappointment, crooked duplicity, or of failure it may be on the part of those near and dear to them to fully realize hopes and ideals that have been cherished, lose faith in themselves, or their fellows, or even in both themselves and their fellows, and who go around professing to doubt whether there is really anything or anybody left to believe in. Yet another attitude of mind that often passes muster under the pessimistic category is that of those who, feeling that there is too much idle boasting and boosting and rose-water optimism in the world, deliberately set out to cultivate a sort of quasi-cynical, critical air towards most of the things that other people rave about. They are not so much sour as they are superior, or like to think themselves superior, to the common enthusiasms over which the less sophisticated grow eager.

None of these, however, can be called reasoned pessimisms. For the most part they are either mental poses, or temporary emotional moods, and when it comes to fundamental problems of life they do not go very deep.

Very different from these varieties of pessimism is the pessimism to which we are here calling attention with the primary purpose of enquiring what can be the answer and the attitude of rational faith in the presence of philosophical pessimism. Primarily an intellectual appraisement of life, there is little of the emotional mood about modern philosophical pessimism, and for the most part its representatives are people who have thought deeply about life and its problems —people, indeed, whose pessimism is a deeply reasoned conclusion, and perhaps as complete a theory of life as any that the world knows.

As a theory of life what we are here calling philosophical pessimism has only a comparatively short history in Western culture and civilization, but it is surprising what inroads its influence is apparently making among many of the more thoughtful and studious of present world observers. As an antidote to much of modern flamboyant and ill-reasoned optimism, it may even have a part of some importance to play in the movements of contemporary thought, while the challenge which it utters is such as the soul of the man of vigorous rational faith may delight to meet. For the test of true faith is its ability to face fearlessly the ugliest, the cruellest and the most baffling facts of human knowledge and experience. Anyone can believe in victory for the world, or for any individual cause in it, when victory is assured and undeniable, but it takes genuine faith to believe in victory when every apparent token indicates defeat. Particularly does it take high faith to commit one's life to the service of unselfish purposes and ideals when all that one has to sustain one is the confidence of one's own faith.

Philosophical pessimism presumably traces its origin as a theory of life in Western thought to Arthur Schopenhauer. From the standpoint of individual faith, expectation and hope Schopenhauer's doctrine of the world as will is depressing and pessimistic enough in all conscience, but in its latest developments philosophical pessimism piles melancholy upon melancholy. No longer content with denying rationality to the world, it is now going further and denying endurance to it, and consequently also to the best hopes and plans that men can evolve for themselves and future generations.

Essentially philosophical in nature, this latest development of the world's pessimism takes at their face value the generally accepted conclusions of scientific learning as to the origin of the world, the growth of its forms of life and the development of such higher achievements as the civilizations of mankind, and then in the interests of a scientific interpretation of life seeks to push these conclusions to their logical limits and to enquire what, in the light of scientific knowledge, is the probable natural end of the world and of mankind.

"The end of the world" is a familiar phrase with certain religionists, some of whom sometimes surprise us by the singularly definite knowledge they claim to possess as to the date of the event. A good deal of preaching to this day, indeed, is taken up with the approaching end of the world and the calamity that will befall all who are not properly prepared for the catastrophe. The wildest utterances of Millennium preachers, however, are a very pale and insipid warning as compared with the picture of the final wind-up of human affairs deducible from the general reasonings of philosophical pessimism.

Millennium preaching at least has the saving virtue that it expects all who truly believe—a not inconsider-

able company, let us hope, though presumably not including many readers of UNITY—from the ultimate doom to which the world is predestined. Christ may come in trailing clouds of glory from the sky to snatch the redeemed from their turmoil and to trample the unrighteous as grapes beneath his feet in the final vintage of divine wrath. But though the blood of the unregenerate may flow like rivers and the whole earth be filled with the anguish of doom and destruction, at least a residue of mankind will be saved out of the world's ruin to enjoy the privileges of a new earth and heaven.

Even such small comfort and hope as such a theory affords, however, is denied us by the implications of philosophical pessimism, which sees the world's last state as altogether worse than its first. A catastrophic end to the world's life would be tragic enough in all conscience, but even greater in its unrelieved horror and disappointment is the thought of the gradual degeneracy and slow decay of the forms and life of the civilizations we know and have known.

According to your thorough-going philosophical pessimist the ultimate doom and extinction of life upon this planet is as certain and inevitable as the present vigor and prolificy of life. In the aeons to come the world we now inhabit will be as dead a world as the moon of our present night—a world without light or life of its own, coldly reflecting with sickly pallor the radiance of the sun, itself unwarmed and unrevivified by it.

All that mankind can dream or hope, if ever realized, will be realized only to perish. Gradually the earth will grow colder and colder, and more unfriendly to life. Men and beasts alike will be driven slowly but surely backward to a fiercer struggle for life and the means of subsistence than anything we can easily imagine. Herded and crowded they will fight ravenously for the ever decreasing spaces of the earth's fertile and habitable territory, until at last the remnants of our race, brought as it were to bay, will perish for sheer lack of the sources of sustenance, and a bleak and barren planet whirling aimlessly in the cosmic spaces will be the only visible memorial of the hopes that were once cherished on earth and of the life that once brought forth so abundantly upon it.

The case has been put with startling point by Mr. Bertrand Russell in his essay on "A Free Man's Worship." With dramatic gesture, Mr. Bertrand Russell puts into the mouth of Mephistopheles the history of creation, as a prelude to his own conclusions to be drawn therefrom. Continuing, he says,

> That man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving; that his origin, his growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and his beliefs, are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms; that no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling, can preserve an individual life beyond the grave; that all the labors of the ages, all the inspiration, all the devotion, all the noonday brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system, and that the whole temple of man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins—all these things, if not quite beyond dispute, are yet so nearly certain, that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand.

Well may we ask in the presence of such a challenge as this, what, then, of our parlor preachments of universal brotherhood, our roseate hopes of an earth redeemed from pain and poverty and disease, and our ideals of a kingdom of heaven finally realized in our midst?

To an unthinking generation, cultured largely on the sedatives of pious sentimentality and taught to think of faith in the terms of mere credal and metaphysical belief, this challenge of philosophical pessimism may indeed seem as the end of all things, and perhaps the gravest danger of its utterance is that for a pampered people it may suggest a universe already in ruin and the death knell of every endeavor and aspiration that we call ethical and moral.

The man of true faith and courage, however, will not be so easily scared by the spectres of human thought, and he will know that at its worst philosophical pessimism is but a product of human thinking. To the man of true faith crashing suns and dying worlds will no more affright than crashing kingdoms and falling earthly thrones, and he will feel that in himself is the stuff wherewith to meet the challenge of the universe.

Does the possible ultimate doom of the world and the extinction of a planet really mean that our hopes for a fairer human life and our structure of a human morality and ethics are vain and meaningless? Suppose it is true—that this earth, like every mortal man, must pass through the experience of birth, growth, decay, and death—does it necessarily follow, then, that life at this moment has no meaning, or that there is no meaning that we can put into it? Yield to philosophical pessimism its strongest fortress of argument, is it then the business of mankind to capitulate to the forces of destruction and yield them melancholy assistance?

Let us put the crux of the matter into somewhat simpler terms. In the main and in the large it is pretty much the same proposition, is it not? as though some one of us were to know of a surety and beyond all possibility of doubt that he had but another year to live; that twelve months from today death would come to him in decisive and inevitable form. Once in a great while it is a man's experience to face precisely that proposition. Suppose it should happen to you, dear reader. With your circumstances in life and the general prospects of your human success or failure altogether unchanged, let us assume that the knowledge has come to you that twelve months from this date at noon your personal doom is sealed. There is no escape. There is no appeal. Fifty-two weeks, with a brief total of three hundred and sixty-five days, are positively all that remain to you of life—of life here

or anywhere. For twelve months—freedom, and the open world, and the friendly smile of comrades and loved ones, and, if you choose, the thrill of the task that engages you, and then—darkness, night, and nothingness.

Of course, it might happen to anyone. But to know that it will happen and to know that nothing that one can do can avert the doom of death—that is perhaps a different matter. In such circumstances, what would you do? It takes courage perhaps to face the contingency. It certainly takes thought to face such a question squarely. What would *you* do?

Well, now, we wonder, for those who are intelligent and sensible, would it really make so very much difference after all to the general conduct and course of life during the twelve months to come. If the knowledge broke suddenly upon us we can conceive that some of us might be a trifle stunned and shocked for a brief season. But when we had really taken it in, how about it?

Would it not come down to a question of what we really conceive to be the major satisfactions and the vital essentials of life? To these, perhaps, we might want to give ourselves with a somewhat deeper and more intense devotion.

Some of us might want to see a little more of our families than we otherwise might, and we should be anxious of course to leave with our loved ones the happiest possible memory of the last days and months of our life with them. Naturally also we should want to make the best possible provision and arrangements for the future of our families that the circumstances and time would permit. Some of us might also want to eat, smoke, and joke at least once again with a few of life's dearer friends from whom distance had separated us, if that were within reason. But beyond these and such like natural inclinations it is hard to think that the knowledge of certain impending death would greatly change our sense of life's values or our appraisements of its satisfactions and pleasures. Certainly it is hard to think that it could rob life's pleasures and desires of their meaning, or alter in any radical manner our sense of obligation to the responsibilities that life has laid upon us.

We should want to make the utmost possible of the brief days and months, and to extract the utmost that was possible from them, but we take it that it would be largely a matter of seeking to condense with a definitely limited period of time hopes and desires, feelings and purposes that otherwise we should regard with less respect to the urgency and compass of a definitely limited time period.

There must surely be something radically wrong with our purposes or with our point of view in life, if we can conceive of the knowledge of death producing any very serious revolution in our ways of thinking, willing and living. It is hard to think that the knowledge of impending death would impel any reasonable and intelligent person, for instance, to throw aside all the common restraints of reasoned action and morality and all the consciously worked out rational purposes of living and revel, shall we say, in felony and murder, thus hazarding the stigma of crime and the gallows, and curtailing the already restricted freedom left for enjoyment. In short, one can hardly conceive that the knowledge of death could change, except perhaps to intensify, the normal purposes, impulses, and desires of rational living.

There is an end, as we well know, to most of the experiences and happenings that bring us satisfaction and joy, but the fact that their end naturally follows from their beginning need not, and in fact, does not, deprive their pleasures and satisfactions of their enjoyment.

Ah, but it may be said, this is because we inwardly cherish the hope that their satisfactions and pleasures will be renewed in new experiences that the promise of life holds out, and it would be entirely different if we knew positively that in a little while the memory of past pleasures and the hope of future satisfactions were forever sealed. Well, perhaps it is so. It is hard to say. But if we have thus far reconciled ourselves to life by accepting the universe we find it hard to see how the prospect of death can despoil any true present pleasure or good of life.

To accept life for what it is at this moment of time and to extract the utmost of pleasure, purpose, meaning and satisfaction from it that it is possible to extract, not forgetting that around us are thousands of fellow creatures to whom the same necessity is paramount and that human happiness depends upon the mutuality of human aspiration, hope, and endeavor—is there any more feasible, work-a-day philosophy than this?

And is it so vastly different if the thing be pushed to its uttermost limit and we face the last dread spectre that philosophical pessimism can rear—the thought of a living world reduced to death and destruction?

Surely, faith may well hurl back the challenge of pessimism in its teeth and answer, What is it to us though utter ruin and the crash of worlds shall crush the lofty hopes and proud determination of man? What is it to us, though planets should whirl from their orbits and go hurtling, like blazing comets, through the wilderness of the cosmic vastnesses?

No more than the beginning, does the end of the world concern us. Today we know that it is better for human life that men love than that they hate. Today we know, though all the glory of dominion and empire be finally buried in the dust and debris of a dead world, that it is better for nations to unite and join friendly hands in the mutual effort of human well being.

Shall we cease from building the palaces of happi-

ness for the children of men for fear lest in the end demons—demons of blind fate, or demons of conscious and malicious devilry, or devils whom some have named gods—shall in the end bring our work to naught and topple the proud and glorious wall we seek to raise? Nay, rather, shall we not say, *we will* build, and build after the pattern of our highest dreams and hopes, though utter ruin and oblivion shall eventually overtake us.

Call life, if you will, the product of a fortuitous concourse of atoms—what is that to us? Life in us, at least, has achieved the consciousness of the power of purpose and the thrill of the pressure of defiance.

"The fates are stronger than men," you say, "and all our purposes and intentions, all our pride and defiance are puny and feeble beside them."

So ran the theme of the earlier Greek tragedy. Let it be, if so it must be. Yet may we show the majesty of our manhood by hurling defiance in the teeth of fate and bidding blind force and relentless and unreasoning power do its worst, and going blithely on our business all the day.

Fate is only superior to manhood when it succeeds in crushing the spirit that makes men men. Manhood conquers fate whenever it refuses to yield obeisance to its fears and threats and alarms.

Jove may strike with his thunderbolts, but there is yet a greater than Jove among the stars so long as a fearless man lifts his head above the hills and hurls defiance at the thunderbolt.

Nature is the name of a process upon which we need waste no tenderness, though it has produced us. The contest of the world is in large part the contest of man with nature, and man's largest conquests are transcribed in the terms of his conquests of nature's blindness and elemental power. Is it brutal that a child should turn and rend its parent? Not if that parent, having brought forth a child, should in its blindness seek to stifle its child's life and deny its freedom.

We have seen Nature red in tooth and claw, we have seen Nature blind in its injustice and revolting in its hideous cruelty. Yet is it the great prerogative of man to rear on high the sword and sceptre of justice and to unfurl from the world's topmost height the flag of freedom and righteousness.

So, though pessimists may paint the utter final ruin of the world, yet shall faith descry the present hope and build, if not for eternity, then at least for time, the palace of men's hopes and the fortress of men's courage and desire.

And if life be indeed a thing of more worlds than one, if there be any conceivable relation between the green of earth and its songs of human hope and the dim light that flickers from the stars in their far-off reaches of space, then, indeed, shall all life be enriched by the proud defiance of man and by his unconquerable will to achieve and endure.

Faith looks, with Walt Whitman, at the objects of the universe

> and finds that there is no one, nor any particle of one, but has reference to the soul—The soul forever and forever—longer than soil is brown and solid, longer than water ebbs and flows. . . For it the entire star-myriads roll through the sky; for it the partial to the permanent flowing; for it the real to the ideal tends. . . Greater than stars or suns, bounding, O Soul, thou journeyest forth. . . . To know the universe itself as a road, as many roads for traveling souls.

EDMUND HENRY REEMAN.

The Prohibition Issue

Prohibition can never be understood, and will not be supported, until it is seen for what it really is—not an instance of puritanical fanaticism, not an attempt by a single group of society to impose upon the social whole a standard of artificial morality, but a simple, natural and logical extension of society's duty, long since conceded by all enlightened and right-minded persons, to control its own life to ends of health, happiness, security and mutual welfare.

The arguments against the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Law all come down, sooner or later, to the one contention that this legislation constitutes a wanton violation of what is known as "individual liberty." The state presumes to enter a man's house, take a seat at his table, and dictate to him what he and his guest shall or shall not drink—a matter which must be regarded, in any free society, as concerning nobody but himself. What I eat, or drink, or wear, is my business, not the state's! For society to interfere in such matters is tyranny. Prohibition is simply an example of that type of sumptuary legislation which has always characterized the rule of despots, but has no place in a democracy. So runs the "wet" argument!

Now if prohibition were correctly described as an instance of "sumptuary legislation," so-called, there would be no answer, at least here in America, to this appeal against it in the name of liberty. We have no place in this country for arbitrary and fanatical interference with personal habits, practices, ways of life, which belong properly to the individual *as an individual* and not as a member of society. It is inconceivable, for example, that a man should ever be forbidden by law to drink a glass of milk, or a cup of tea. These beverages, under normal conditions, may be good or bad for the man in question, but in either case the results are confined to the man himself, and do not affect other people. At the worst, it is a case for a doctor, and not for a policeman. But suppose the milk is infected with typhoid germs! Instantly, the state steps in, confiscates the milk, destroys it, and punishes

any man who handles it. Or suppose a particular brand of tea ruined a man's health so that he became a burden on society, or upset his mind so that he beat up his wife or killed his children, or drugged his moral sense so that he became a criminal or pervert, or developed such an appetite that all income went for its satisfaction and the man and his family became paupers! Instantly, again, the state would step in, would it not, and forbid the manufacture, distribution or use of such tea? For the consequences here, as in the case of the infected milk, are social and not individual. The beverage is bad not merely for one single person, but for all persons with whom this one comes in contact, and hence for society at large. In such cases, the state—pre-eminently if it is a democratic state, dedicated like the United States to what the Constitution terms "the general welfare"—interferes, and its interference is called "social legislation."

Instances of social legislation are so common as to be universally familiar. Traffic laws, health laws, fire laws, tenement house laws, child labor laws, laws against profanity and indecency, factory laws, labor laws, laws against drugs, gambling, prostitution—all these are so many instances of what we mean by social legislation. Every law of this social type involves, by the very nature of its inherent purpose, the restriction of individual liberty. Traffic laws deny a man the liberty to run his automobile at any speed; health laws deny a housewife the liberty to dump her garbage in the street; fire laws deny a builder the liberty to construct a house in the cheapest and quickest way. In a million instances, the liberties of each one of us are limited, restricted, denied altogether; and as society develops and grows more complex, more and more of our liberties are thus taken away. But nobody complains—for the simple reason that the liberty of all has claims superior to the liberty of any one. We all have rights together to be free from the damages, dangers, burdens, ills which many an individual would inflict upon us if he were allowed to do exactly what he might please to do. The state is the guardian and vindicator of these rights, and therefore takes action, through social or prohibitory legislation, when all of us together need protection from a selfish few.

Now the Eighteenth Amendment is legislation of this character. Liquor, like opium, prostitution, firetrap tenements, infected milk, garbage heaps and open sewers, is dangerous to the public health, inimical to the general welfare. If the effects of liquor were confined to the consumer, like the effects of tea, nobody would care how many drunkards there were, so far as legislation is concerned. But the effects of liquor affect not merely the consumer, but all citizens everywhere. Poverty, vice, crime, degradation, horror, the saloon, the brothel, the jail, follow in its wake. Hence the law of prohibition passed against it! To resist, defy, or ignore this law is to set one's own selfish whims and appetites over against the general welfare. It is thus to be the worst of bad citizens!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Jottings

We are told that there is a possibility of another ice age; and that Macmillan, the explorer, is going north to measure the progress of the glaciers southward. This is good news! At last there is a prospect of stopping the next war.

Missionary funds of the Methodist Episcopal Church have fallen off from an income of $6,219,788.81 in November-April 1920-21, to $4,712,136.32 in the same six months of 1921-22, and $4,099,717.10 in the corresponding period of 1922-23. In other words, the income fell off $1,507,652.49 in six months last year, and has already fallen off an additional $612,419.22 this year. Surely this proves that the church is more alive than ever! Or if not, the statisticians will make it prove so in short order.

It is interesting, in view of all that has been happening at Amherst of late, to turn to page 432 of Upton Sinclair's "The Goose Step," and read: "There is a New England College . . . whose president has taken a firm stand for open-mindedness, and that is Amherst. President Meiklejohn was one of the live men who got out of Brown when it began to die. He is now trying to make one small college in which young men are taught to think, instead of just to believe in dogmas. He is in the midst of a fight with reactionary trustees. . . . He is still in office, for how long I do not know."

The historian, Prescott, in his "Conquest of Peru," describes the government of the Incas as that of "a state which, with its professions of peace and goodwill, was ever at war for the acquisition of empire." It is evident that, in four hundred years, times have changed but little—and governments not at all!

President Harding tells us that he proposes to keep us out of war; and that, if war comes, he proposes to conscript dollars as well as men. We opine that the chance of Mr. Harding's conscripting dollars if war came, is just about as great as the chance of his keeping us out of war if a good excuse for war came along. We know that he is sincere, but—governments don't work that way.

We have just been reading of the discovery of a tribe of savages who worship the small-pox as a fetich of religion. These savages must be related to the ancestors of the men and women among us who worship the liquor traffic as a fetich of liberty. The suppression of the savage tribe and their pestilential worship is good augury for the future in America.

Lynching figures for the current year are most encouraging. Thirty-three (33) deaths in the first six months of 1922 are matched by only eleven (11) deaths for the first six months of 1923. The agitation for Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and the renewal of Negro immigrations north are obviously not without effect.

J. H. H.

Internationalism and the German Youth Movement

A.—An Article by Walter Christaller

If we investigate how far the youth of Germany could work with the youth of other countries, and how much they are working for a general understanding between the peoples we can only talk of that part of the German youth which is either organized or belongs to the German Youth Movement. We may exercise this limitation with a good conscience as the remainder of Germany's youth does not show much interest in this question and is of no importance in the general picture.

A second rather far-reaching presupposition we must make in connection with the German Youth Movement. It is generally understood that the movement is among the young people between the ages of 14 and 25. This is wrong. It is now twenty-five years since the *Wandervogel* came into existence, and this has become the deepest root and the most outstanding trait of the later German Youth Movement. The *Wandervogel* at first consisted only of the pupils of the higher better class schools between the ages of 12 and 20, but by October, 1913, it had so far developed that more and more young workingmen, merchants, apprentices, etc., also students, and soon even girls were admitted (some groups were open to all, others more restricted). Now two things combined which had the result of extending the age limit of the members, namely, that the former *Wandervogel* remained in the movement even after the age of 30 and also that other older people who were idealistic and dissatisfied with the present civilization came in. Repeated efforts were made to get rid of the older members, but the general urge of the day would not suffer such a restriction. The Youth Movement had become by degrees bound up with all the social, political, cultural, and religious currents. Thus it became the kernel of a people's movement and a part of a movement of mankind.

Let us return to actual youth. One of the outstanding traits of the Youth Movement is the idea of the autonomy of youth. This also gives us the principle of division.

The least autonomous youth is the "organized": political parties, church communities, trade unions, sport clubs, teetotal associations have founded special youth groups to secure, educate, and influence the coming generation. It is clear that youth thus brought together cannot be quite free and autonomous, for it will be educated under the perpetual surveillance and guidance of adults for special purposes, mostly quite outside the inclination of youth. Latterly, as the spirit of democracy has developed, a fresher breeze has been blowing even here. Outwardly these youth groups have actually been coming nearer to the life and activity of the real Youth Movement. Here we should mention the Protestants with 400,000 members, the Catholics with nearly 1,000,000, also Jewish societies with about 20,000 members. Further, the political: The German National Youth League with 50,000, the German Democratic Youth Association with about 20,000, and the Majority Socialist "Labor Youth" with about 65,000 members. Youth groups in the trade unions have approximately 40,000 members. Of other societies one might mention in particular the youth groups of the German gymnastic societies with 420,000 members, and the Boy Scouts and Young Germany organizations with about 70,000 members. Altogether about 2,000,000 young people are organized under the *Jugendpflege* (in contrast with the Youth Movement.)

The second large group of German Youth we will call the "Programme Youth Movement." These are mostly very radical and revolutionary societies, which have, however, a quite definite program for their work, pursue quite definite aims, and often lean towards the ideal, religious, political, etc., programs and aims of the older generation. The chief difference, in contrast to the *Jugendpflege* is that here youth itself takes the initiative, sets up the goal, and follows it independently and radically. It differs from the Free Youth Movement in that the Programme Youth Movement is ultimately based upon smaller aims and programs set up by a weak human spirit, and thus loses its real freedom and autonomy in the truest sense. Here we must mention the denominational, namely the Protestant (Christian Student Movement, Bible circles, communities) with perhaps 40,000 members; the Catholics (Quickborn, *Grossdeutsche Jugend,* etc.) with perhaps 30,000 members; also Jewish Zionists with perhaps 10,000 members. Further the political: namely, the nationalist (largely grown out of the *Wandervogel Bünden* and mostly students) with perhaps 40,000 members; the socialist (proletariat, communistic, anarchistic groups with powerful influence on the parties themselves) with perhaps 60,000 members. Here also we should mention the teetotal and life reforming groups (*Guttempler,* some *Wandervogelsplitter*) as well as those organizations in the young generation whose purpose is the betterment of the schools and in the administration of justice in regard to youth. Also international youth organizations (lecture halls, school communities, social student work on the one hand, International League of Youth, World Youth League on the other hand); the last group numbers about 20,000 members. Thus altogether the Programme Youth Movement numbers about 200,000 members, though "member" does not always mean literally "member of an association" but member of the Movement.

The third and last large group of the German Youth is the Free Youth Movement. At present it is impossible to estimate its numbers as it is only partly organized. To this part of the Youth Movement be-

long chiefly a large number of former *Wandervogel* (League of older members) and the now existing *Wandervogel* groups, small student societies (for instance German Academic *Freischaren*), *"Fahrende Gesellen,"* the "Free German Youth" respectively the individual Free German communities in cities, and colonies in the country, the guilds (trade communities), and many other work and life communities.

The younger generation continually brings new strength into the movement, which, in spite of its fixed style and its definite attitude toward reality is yet elastic enough to give room to new life and above all is always open and ready for every revelation of the divine will. In order to compare it with the other groups we would gage its total membership to be about 200,000.

The first group, the *"Jugendpflege,"* we need not take into further consideration as it is almost (with the exception of the majority socialist labor youth) capitalistic and nationalistic, even the Catholic part, and therefore only to be considered by way of contrast. Upon the whole these organized young people are not independent enough, or are too indifferent to be taken seriously. This unreliability applies also to the labor youth.

The other two groups, the Programme and the Free Youth, move in two directions. The starting point for both is the perception that the world of today with its superficiality, want of culture, godlessness, must be denounced. But the movement divides on the question of what the New World will be like, and what is the way to it. One section looks for the good old times and would link itself with them. It looks upon the Middle Ages and the landowning peasantry, traces of which still exist today, as its example. Its ideals are the people, the hearth, leaders, landscape, handicraft, home; it is conservative in the best sense of the word, and therefore often close to the right wing; it is national and anti-Jewish (it is this question in particular which has torn the Youth Movement asunder ever since 1913), it is almost always in favor of fighting and heroic sentiment. The other section on the contrary recognizes the good as that which is to come, it wants to work for a really new, still unthought of, still hidden world, it has no definite concrete ideals, only the certainty of the direction in which it must travel. It often approaches the socialists and communists and is revolutionary; it seeks love and reconciliation but is also ready to fight.

The German abroad is very seldom international. Unknowingly or intentionally he often exaggerates the German, or he imitates the foreign in a childish manner, both are in bad taste, but not international. Can one call international trade or scientific work among the various nations internationalism? Although these things are more objective and do not depend upon international feelings, adjustment or responsibility they might rather be so regarded. The international organizations like the pacifist groups *"Weltjugendliga,"* etc., perhaps come a step nearer to true internationalism, for their foundation is the joint responsibility of the peoples. The new internationalism, which for instance thrives in the German Youth Movement, is as ingrown, as rooted as for instance the fact that I am a German. Inasmuch as I cannot help being a German, I cannot help being also a human being, which means international (in a similar manner this breaks down the walls between the classes, we are classless as a living fact, and not through dulness or want of interest).

As an example of the revelation of this new kind of internationalism I will mention the first northern Youth conference which took place at Hanstein in central Germany. It was called by the "Labor Community of the Northern Youth" and more than 30 guests from northern and eastern Europe took part, besides about 100 leading representatives of different groups and tendencies in the German Youth Movement. Communists and nationalists, boy scouts and Free Germans, Christians and *Wandervogel* were brought together. It was significant that they were often almost ashamed of their divisions and tried to conceal them, and decided not to be so narrow minded in the future. One felt that the highest, the common, was the human.

In conclusion let us draw practical inferences from the above. He who has experienced this new internationalism in himself can never again take a stand nation against nation, will not use violence any more nor want to coerce others. He will refuse to go to war, and will not be tempted and carried away by war enthusiasm. It would be a different matter perhaps in a real struggle for deliverance from a foreign yoke, or certain classes in one's own country where inner values are at stake. Here perhaps one would risk the crime and the sin. In these quite rare cases opinion would probably be partly in favor of strict non-violence, partly of the ethical, religious, holy combat. I must point out here that there is no significant propaganda or organization in Germany against war service, which perhaps would make some difference.

Regarding the numerical significance of the pacifist international movement, about 100,000 of the 400,000 adherents of the German Youth Movement (Programme and Free) may be said to be of it. About 100,000 may be counted as belonging to the military, national movement, while the other 200,000 are upon the whole neutral. The pacifist and international groups are partly Christian (Protestant and Catholic), partly socialist (especially those who lean towards the independent social democrats and young socialists) and Free German. The organ of the first group is in particular *"Das Neue Werk"* (Schlüchtern), of the second, among others, the *"Proletarier Jugend"* (Berlin), of the third, *"Junge Menschen"* (Hamburg), *"Freideutsche Jugend"* under the new title of *"Die Bewegung"* (Lauenburg, Elbe), and *"Vivos Voco"* (Leipzig).

It is difficult to write about these things, which really are only in the making, as concrete and visible facts. Days and weeks spent by our American friends among the men of the German Youth Movement would show more distinctly to both sides what is meant and what the development is likely to be. We have at all events arrived at the certainty in Germany that there is a similar spirit to that in the German Youth Movement making itself felt in almost all countries, that it is in fact *one* movement everywhere, of the significance of which we cannot as yet form any idea.

B.—An Article by Günter Keiser

In order to understand the spiritual power underlying the German Youth Movement we must picture to ourselves the old Germany, with her hopeless want of spirituality, her blind belief in authority, her strict hide-bound traditional discipline, and her cheeky

schoolmaster type. The Youth Movement signifies a turning away from that world, the liberation and migration of youth. Its origin was eruptive and spontaneous, without the leadership of the older generation. It is youth's flight in independence and self-training, governed by the idea "A new age begins with the new generation."

The formation of the *Wandervogel* among school boys was the beginning of the movement. This was an attempt to get away from the atmosphere of the city, the narrowness of school, and social convention. There soon followed a similar but more serious movement among the college youth—the *Freideutsche Jugend*, and after the war the desire for independence drove also the young people of the young people's organizations in the political parties and the churches to seek for freedom.

So the emancipation of at least one section of the young people came to be a fact. Independent, and strictly rejecting the old ideas, this youth group faced all problems, ideas and political situations, at the same time following ideals of shattering honesty, and openly fighting the "old man" where he is conservative, easy-going, material or unspiritual.

We must not lose sight of this state of things if we want to examine the form of internationalism of these young people.

The *Wandervogel* had led the young people out of the city and replanted them in nature. And here, where the source of all genuine sentiment, above all of all healthy national feeling is to be found, they threw over the hollow patriotism of their fathers. The new generation was no longer national, it became *Menschleitlein*. Folk, soil, home, took the place of state, royalty, empire. That is to say ideas of more or less eternal value took the place of institutions and historical products.

That was the beginning. The war with its insurmountable national tasks hindered some in the development of pure human thinking, and in others hastened it on. So arose the *Menschleitlein*. What does this word mean? Instinctively the word international was rejected, we sought a word that would give a clearer conception of our character, and it was found in *Menschleit*—Mankind. These young people would have nothing to do with the old internationalism which only seeks to adjust national economics, rooted in the supernational enchainment of high finance and big business. Also they hardly thought of international "right," League of Nations, or any other political regulation of national relations. They did not approach the problem from the angle of the condition of civilization or of the political order, but purely from experience. Behind the political word "nation" they discovered the experience "people." Out of the supernational conception grew the experience Mankind, deeply felt. Love of the nation grew into love for humanity. Just as patriotism and nationalism, those materialized forms of national feeling had been overcome, so economic and political internationalism were overcome and only the pure idea and the personal experience were kept.

This aspect, unreal as it may appear, is much more radical and thorough than all the others, for it is rooted in the deepest, the innermost experience of the individual. It is a kind of ethical basis for all action for these people, and is therefore inseparable from their social way of thinking. The word expresses that it is the will of these young people to go the whole length, and not to stop at reforms only of the relations of nations. Everywhere where human beings have intercourse one with another, they make their hot, high ideals count. I would like to call this youthful internationalism the primitive one, and it is fitting that it should be accompanied by a similarly unorganized and unconstructed internationalism of action. These young people, now going on their way in independence, are lonely, they long for communion with the youth of other nations. They look out over the borders on all sides to see if the young people elsewhere are not also uniting to seek their own way. They search the magazines for accounts of the new developments in the Boy Scouts, and publications of the Youth Movement publish the writings of Hargrave and E. Seton Thompson about the Woodcraft Scouts. But this longing expresses itself in more impulsive fashion, it drives them over the borders, naturally first of all to the kindred peoples in the nearer countries, Finland and the Baltic lands, Holland and Switzerland. Like the old vagrants, with *rücksacks* and very little money, they wander through these countries in groups and seek friends among the young people there, many of them starved their way like tramps through Italy, the old country toward which German youth looks with longing. If the rate of exchange did not build walls around our borders this active internationalism would have spread considerably. What might result from it is shown by the Conference of Northern Youth this summer, which brought young people from Scandinavia and the Baltic countries whose interest had been aroused by these trips of the German *Wandervogel*, to meet the leaders of the German Youth Movement.

It will be of interest here to mention that selected groups from our labor movement have also wandered through Holland and Denmark and had festivities with their young comrades in these countries.

In 1920 an attempt was made to create a center where the independent youth of all countries might come in touch with one another, "International Secretariat of Youth," but it collapsed owing to lack of funds. Its work was taken up later by the *Weltjugendliga* which originated in Austria. It is now slowly gaining ground, and by exchange of letters, summer exchange, visits to foreign young people's conferences, etc., is following out the aims of joint work in common with all conscious youth. But all this is still in its early stages.

Everywhere where the latest history has brought about the emancipation of a class the soil of internationalism has spread, for instance the labor internationals and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. I am sure too that this will be one of the most important fruits of the Youth Movement. This that has originated in Germany can only be explained by our position as a beaten people which, relieved of the burden of national ambition and material possessions, finds its way again to the gates of a spiritual world. As soon as groups of young people with real ideal enthusiasm, radical intensity, and untiring will for sacrifice spring up in the victorious and the capitalistically organized nations, the International of the new generation will become a reality. The German Youth Movement is only waiting for this. I believe that this peculiar character of our Youth Movement is something that can be relied on. It will always stand apart from the official internationalism of the pacifists and democrats, but quietly it will probably do as great things as these.

A Book a Week

Mary Badollet Powell Memorial

GARGOYLES. By Ben Hecht. New York: Boni and Liveright, Inc.

The publisher describes "Gargoyles" as a "devastating" novel. The publisher is right. It *is* devastating—just that. It devastates all the conventional brutalities that are at present synonymous with the word America. It exposes and analyzes the shams, hypocrisies, lies, vicious make-believes that are our lives under militant capitalism. It shows us as we are and as we tell ourselves we are—two different things—in all conscience.

It is a book everybody should read—everybody including Woodrow Wilson and his successor; John S. Sumner, Andrew Volstead, John Roach Stratton and other bigots of that ilk; Reed Smoot and the lesser fry of which he is a characteristic type; Elbert H. Gary, Samuel Vauclain, John D. Rockefeller and kindred exploiters; William Jennings Bryan, Nicholas Murray Butler, Samuel Gompers and sundry additional apologists for things as they are. I could make a list a mile long of men I should like to be able to force to read—and understand—it. All the maniacs who believe in "crusading" against what they call "vice"; all the promoters of the gorgeous slaughterfest that has drenched the world with blood and tears for the better (or worse) part of a decade; all the smug fakers who go up and down mouthing about virtue in public and roistering in brothels in private; all the windy exhorters who know—or at least feel—how sadly this land of the free and home of the slave has fallen short of its goal among nations and yet rant ceaselessly about grandeur and progress; all the frauds who use the word "humanity" to cover and conceal their own shameless greed; all these, and all others, should take up this book with all the humility they can muster and study it till their faces blush with shame. It is a master indictment of our crimes, it is a mirror of our proud, unworthy nature.

Yes, it is difficult to write calmly, dispassionately, about "Gargoyles."

Of course, the book is ugly, the thing it discusses is so vile. Of course, it is brutal—because it is true. Of course, it shocks the reader; it was written for that purpose.

But just because it is so unpleasant to think about these matters, we *must* think about them. Ben Hecht has thought about them, certainly; and a few other courageous sceptics. The grand and glorious mob has not thought—it cannot think.

A wave of pity sweeps the reader, pity for the poor worms who have made a new God, a worm God, in their own image, who worship themselves because they dare not encounter the facts of their hopeless and miserable plight.

One's optimism, one's impulse to be tolerant and kind, one's hope—all are sadly shaken by these three hundred and forty-six pages of passionate delineation and protest. At the end one asks: Are these charges based on fact? Is America the monster Ben Hecht says it is? And one must answer: Yes.

"Gargoyles" deals primarily with Chicago, but New York or Boston or Philadelphia would have served quite as well. The central figure is one George Basine, who as the story progresses through a period of seventeen years is at various and sundry times law student, attorney, prosecutor, judge, vice crusader, United States senator and Liberty Bond dispenser. We meet him initially at dawn on a Sunday morning in May, 1900, departing from a house of ill fame in which he has spent the night. In company with his remorseful, chicken-hearted chum Hugh Keegan we go home with him to see his mother and sisters at breakfast. Thence to church and back again to an informal party where George proposes marriage to Henrietta, only daughter of a dissolute, pretentious old rake who is also a presiding magistrate—proposes to her simply because he requires more amusement than the adventures of the early hours of the same day had afforded him, not because he is even momentarily fond of the girl nor because he intends to abide by the contract. But he does abide by it, and because he is an arrant coward he remains physically faithful to his wife while consistently deceiving her in every other way. They have two children.

Years pass, years and other things. George discovers how to fool the mob—or rather the secret is discovered for him by his sister Doris, who is the only tolerable figure in the book, unless one generously includes in the phrase their bewildered mother. Once he has proved his ability to win personal victories by shouting popular formulas everything he desires in the line of public office comes to him. He makes a fetish of virtue—because he is utterly void of it—and uses the thing for all it is worth. He is appointed chairman of a commission to suppress prostitution, and an orgy of persecution and perversion follows, from which the chairman emerges a mob hero. The fact that he can carry through such a campaign makes him fit in the crowd's eyes to be a member of the upper branch of Congress.

Then comes the war and national lunacy. This is Basine's opportunity. And he is urged on toward the apotheosis of extravagance and hypocrisy by knowledge that the girl he intended to seduce has already been subjected to similar treatment by another man—who happened to be a German. The new senator takes up the joyful task of exciting the mob into a carnival of Hun-hate. Every time he thinks of the Teutons he visions the face of the blackguard who was quicker and more successful than himself; the two ideas fuse—Basine rises to national fame on the wave of blood and passion that follows. We leave him there. Our final glimpse of him is one of the finest pictures in the novel; we see him running away from his old companion, Hugh Keegan, running away from tears in Hugh's eyes, tears called up by thought of his dead wife.

The mob that Basine fooled; the mob, stupidly hideous, beastly vain, swine-like; and the kings of the mob, degenerate, mischievous, spiritually rotten to the core—that is "Gargoyles."

But the book is something else, too. It is so accurate, so pitiless, so bitter, that it achieves a certain distinction as an historical document, like the pamphlets of Defoe. Our children and their children will find in it a portrait of their ancestors—ourselves—and they will know that since such a book was written, published, circulated and read by at least a few of us we were not totally impossible, not entirely blind, not wholly mute.

America will indeed have gone to the dogs for good and all when it is no longer possible to produce men like Ben Hecht, who have the courage and the wit to see through the myths we wrap about ourselves and the skill and passion to make intelligent and stimulating statements of the case as it is beyond all cavil.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

NEWS ITEM

The Federation of Religious Liberals, with Headquarters at Lincoln Centre, Chicago, now has individual members in thirty-three States, the District of Columbia, and three Provinces of Canada. In addition to individual members the Federation includes various independent churches and the following four liberal denominations: Universalist, Unitarian, Liberal Hebrew, and the Society of Friends. Curtis W. Reese of Chicago is chairman of the executive committee.

BIRTHDAYS IN JULY OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Birthdays in July of political prisoners confined in American prisons are announced by the Workers' National Prison Comfort Club, 2923 Chestnut Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as follows:

At Folsom Prison—Represa, Cal.—
July 5—Warren Billings.
July 26—James Price.
At Box 1, Route 1, Wynne State Farm, Huntsville, Texas—
July 5—Abraham Cisneros.
At Boise, Idaho, Box No. 58—
July 5—Jos. Doyle.
At Huntsville, Texas, Box 32—
July 28—Chas. Cline.
At Leavenworth, Kansas, Box No. 7—
July 10—Harry Brewer, No. 13462.
July 15—John Potthast, No. 13577.
July 17—Caesar Tabib, No. 13582.

Cora Meyer, National Secretary, invites friends and sympathizers to send birthday cards and letters to these political prisoners. Money is advisable for gifts.

PRISONER CHAS. BENNETT WRITES:

The ever welcome communications were enjoyed. One in our predicament rejoices to know such spirits abound in this day and age of artificial civilization.

WORKERS' NATIONAL PRISON COMFORT CLUB.

INTERNATIONAL NO MORE WAR DEMONSTRATION JULY 28-29, 1923

Organizing Committee from The Fellowship of Reconciliation—The Women's Peace Society—The Women's Peace Union.

Address: International No More War Demonstration, Room 1101, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

For the second time thoroughgoing opponents of the war method in the United States are about to unite with the War Resisters of the World in a great peace demonstration.

July 28-29, the ninth anniversary of the beginning of the World War, is the date chosen.

Following the example of our comrades in Europe, men and women throughout this land will at that time meet or take other steps to voice the growing demand for complete, immediate disarmament by our country, the outlawing of war by making it illegal to prepare for or declare war and the elimination of the economic causes of war, and to urge the practicality of passive resistance and the power of creative good-will.

You can help wherever you may be. It is the strategic moment to bring home to people the tragic futility of war and the fact that not the government but ordinary men and women, and they alone, can do away with it.

We urge you to get together with others who are like minded without delay and make plans for the day. No compromise with the war machine or with war, the latter's abolition and the substitution of passive resistance for it, form the keynote of this demonstration. Cooperate with other groups in every way possible, but, *keep the issue clear!* (A request to this office will bring you the names of others in your locality who can be counted upon.)

The following are suggested as effective ways of raising the issue:

1. Meetings on the streets or in parks.
2. Articles, letters, or advertisements in your local papers.
3. Speakers on non-violent resistance and creative good-will at the meetings of other organizations.
4. Parades on foot or in cars decorated with appropriate banners.
5. Wide distribution of literature from cars, in stores, on the street, at meetings, in churches, at movies, etc.
6. Special addresses in the churches.

Make up your own banners or send to us for suggestions. Order the enclosed leaflets at $2.50 and $3.50 per 1,000, or have your own made. If you can't send money, send the order any way. Other literature can be had from the above organizations. An excellent colored poster, 12 by 18 inches, will be ready for distribution from this office at not more than five cents.

Keep us in close touch with your plans so that they may be used in the publicity

CORRESPONDENCE

"IN MEMORIAM"

In these jazz days, when general interest centers in artificial values, it is a relief to find at times the oasis of a clean simple life, where devotion to humble duties is the only motive for striving, and "work for its own sake" the driving power.

Such a life was that of the late Theodore Stewart, who for over thirty years was connected with the public schools of Jamestown, New York, as either janitor or superintendent of buildings.

Of African birth, Mr. Stewart calmly and quietly made his way upward to the high position of standing upon his own merit, despite the handicap of color and ancestral slavery, and unassisted by inherited fortune.

Night and day Theodore Stewart was "on his job." Alert, watchful, faithful, he paid the price with his life, which was lost through his attempt to return too quickly to his duties, after being severely burned in an explosion which occurred in one of the school buildings.

Intelligent, self-made, competent to discuss leading questions of the day, an earnest and broadminded Christian gentleman, Theodore Stewart leaves a memory, which may well be envied by his brothers of every race.

SARA GERTRUDE HARRINGTON.

ANENT RACE AND RELIGION

Editor, UNITY:

Sir:—From the editorial paragraph in your issue of April 5, dealing with the nature of the Jewish people, it seems that the writer labors under a delusion that has become general only within the past half-century, and confined as a rule to the Jew and Gentile of the Protestant persuasion.

The fact that some Jews insist that Jewish immigrants be listed as from the country of previous residence, has little to do with the supposition that the cord of Jewish unity is a purely religious one; and that Jews generally wish to be ranked on the same plane with Catholics, Lutherans, Presbyterians, etc. I admit of course that that motive is present with the type I call the Protestant Jew. Ordinarily, however, that attitude motivates as little as we would say it does that of the Italian, French or German hailing from Switzerland and who insists on being called Swiss; or the Flamand who is entered as a Belgian. The implications are obvious.

From the positive angle, there are many Jews who do not recognize the religious tie as either distinctive or binding, and who are queer enough to insist on being called Jews. Will the editor of UNITY de-Judaize them?

Curiously enough, the statement that "When the Jew ceased to obey the Law, he ceased to be a Jew," excommunicates at once the entire body of those Jews who have most ardently embraced the conception of a "group by religion only": Reform Jewry. Conceivably, however, they might array against the editor the statement of a Talmudic authority: Even though he be an Epicurean, he is, nevertheless, an Israelite.

There is little doubt that the current cant about the racial qualities of Jewish life is nauseating, both that of the anti and that of the philo Semite. But we need not, nor can we legitimately, embrace the other extreme and say that "since the time of Esdras the Jewish people have been members of a religious organization, that is, a church."

LOUIS A. MISCHKIND, Rabbi.

ESPIONAGE ACT NOT REPEALED

To the Editor of UNITY:

Brent Dow Allinson, in his article on the political prisoners, says that the Espionage Act has been repealed. Unfortunately, this is not true. Its operation has been suspended, because the United States is not now at war; but if we should ever get involved in hostilities again, the moment war is declared, the Espionage Act revives automatically, and anyone expressing any opinion adverse to the war will become liable to $20,000 fine and 20 years' imprisonment.

Now, while we are at peace, is the time to work to do away with this abominable legislation. Let everyone urge his Congressman-elect to press for its repeal in the next Congress.

Dorchester, Mass. ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

we shall be feeding the newspapers from day to day. Only the record of the separate demonstrations throughout the country can properly convey how widespread is the rejection of war as a means of settling disputes and how deep is the demand for fearless friendly living together.

We rely on you to start things. Hoping to hear from you immediately, we remain,

The Organizing Committee,
PAUL JONES, Chairman,
ELIZABETH M. TOMPKINS,
Secretary.

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Answers Mr. Bryan

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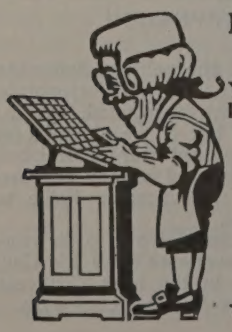

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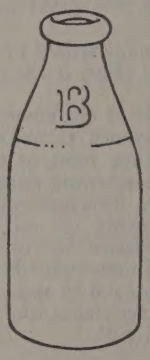

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